

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

----- 024125

P R 221555Z JUL 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2648

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0238

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF JULY 22, 1975 (SALT
TWO - 682)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMB. JOHNSON AT THE
SALT TWO MEETING OF JULY 22, 1975

QUOTE:

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON

JULY 22, 1975

MR. MINISTER,

I

A MAJOR FEATURE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT WHICH WE ARE DISCUSSING
IS THE ESTABLISHMENT ON AN AGGREGATE NUMERICAL LIMITATION ON
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STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS INCLUDING, VERY IMPORTANTLY, ICBM

LAUNCHERS. IMPLICIT IN THIS NUMERICAL LIMITATION IS THE INTENT OF THE SIDES TO ESTABLISH A LIMIT ON THE NUMBER OF ICBMS THAT CAN BE LAUNCHED. I BELIEVE YOU WILL AGREE THAT PART OF OUR TASK HERE IS TO INSURE THAT THIS INTENT IS CARRIED OUT.

CONFIDENCE IN THE NEW AGREEMENT COULD BE UNDERMINED IF THE AGREEMENT FAILED TO INSURE THAT THE NUMBER OF ICBM LAUNCHERS WAS A TRUE INDICATOR OF THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF ICBMS WHICH COULD IN FACT BE LAUNCHED. ON THE OTHER HAND CONFIDENCE CAN BE ENHANCED IF WE AGREE UPON LIMITATIONS WHICH ASSURE THAT EACH ICBM LAUNCHER WOULD NOT HAVE THE CAPABILITY OF LAUNCHING MORE THAN ONE MISSILE IN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME. TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE THE U.S. HAS PROPOSED THE PROVISIONS OF PARAGRAPH 7, ARTICLE IV OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT, AN IMPORTANT FEATURE OF WHICH IS A PROHIBITION AGAINST ICBM LAUNCHERS WITH A RAPID RELOAD CAPABILITY. THIS PROPOSAL READS: "THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE: (A) NOT TO SUPPLY ICBM DEPLOYMENT FIELDS, UNITS OR BASES WITH MORE THAN ONE MISSILE FOR EACH LAUNCHER, PLUS AN ADDITIONAL NUMBER OF MISSILES CONSISTENT WITH NORMAL MAINTENANCE, TRAINING AND REPLACEMENT REQUIREMENTS; (B) NOT TO PROVIDE STORAGE FACILITIES FOR OR TO STORE ANY ADDITIONAL MISSILES AT ICBM LAUNCH SITES; (C) NOT TO DEVELOP, TEST, OR DEPLOY ICBM LAUNCHERS WITH RAPID RELOAD CAPABILITIES."

II

THE POSSIBILITY THAT A RAPID RELOAD CAPABILITY COULD BE DEVELOPED IS NEITHER REMOTE NOR HYPOTHETICAL. CERTAIN CURRENTLY DEPLOYED SILO-LAUNCHED ICBMS EMPLOY LAUNCH TECHNIQUES WHICH AFTER FIRING LEAVE THE LAUNCHER RELATIVELY UNDAMAGED. FURTHER, ICBMS CAN BE LAUNCHED FROM MOBILE LAUNCHERS WHICH COULD BE DESIGNED TO LAUNCH SUCCESSIVE MISSILES. IF THE SIDES WERE TO PERMIT EITHER FIXED OR MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS TO BE DESIGNED AND EQUIPPED FOR RAPID RELOADING, AND HENCE FOR SUCCESSIVE FIRING OF ICBMS WITHIN SHORT PERIODS OF TIME, IT WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF CIRCUMVENTING THE INTENT OF THE 2400 AGGREGATE LIMITATION.

THERE IS PRECEDENT FOR A PROHIBITION OF RAPID RELOAD CAPABILITY. SUCH A PROHIBITION IS INCLUDED IN ARTICLE V OF THE ABM TREATY WHICH STATES: "EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO DEVELOP, TEST, OR DEPLOY ABM LAUNCHERS FOR LAUNCHING MORE THAN ONE ABM INTERCEPTOR MISSILE AT A
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TIME FROM EACH LAUNCHER, NOT TO MODIFY DEPLOYED LAUNCHERS TO PROVIDE THEM WITH SUCH A CAPABILITY, NOR TO DEVELOP, TEST, OR DEPLOY AUTOMATIC OR SEMI-AUTOMATIC OR OTHER SIMILAR SYSTEMS FOR RAPID RELOAD OF ABM LAUNCHERS." THE RATIONALE FOR THE US PROVISION IN THE NEW AGREEMENT PROHIBITING THE DEVELOPMENT OF A RAPID RELOAD CAPABILITY FOR ICBM LAUNCHERS IS THE SAME AS THAT FOR THE PROVISION IN THE ABM TREATY.

III

THE US HAS ALSO PROPOSED THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT CONTAIN PROVISIONS THAT ICBM DEPLOYMENT FIELDS, UNITS, OR BASES NOT BE UPPLIED WITH MORE THAN ONE MISSILE PER LAUNCHER AND THAT ADDITIONAL MISSILES NOT BE STORED AT LAUNCH SITES. THE US PROPOSAL RECOGNIZES THE NEED FOR A SMALL NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL MISSILES FOR NORMAL MAINTENANCE, TRAINING AND REPLACEMENT REQUIREMENTS BUT PROVIDES THAT SUCH ADDITIONAL MISSILES NOT BE STORED AT LAUNCH SITES. THE SOVIET FORMULATION OF THIS PROVISION ALSO RECOGNIZES THE NEED FOR ADDITIONAL MISSILES FOR MAINTENANCE, TRAINING AND REPLACEMENTS; HOWEVER, IT DOES NOT SPECIFY THAT EACH LAUNCHER WILL BE SUPPLIED WITH ONLY ONE MISSILE, AND IT DOES NOT PROHIBIT THE STORAGE OF SUCH ADDITIONAL MISSILES AT LAUNCH SITES. FURTHER, THE SOVIET PROPOSAL UNLIKE THE US FORMULATION DOES NOT APPLY TO ALL TYPES OF ICBM LAUNCHERS.

IV

MR. MINISTER, TODAY I HAVE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THE US ATTACHES TO PROVISIONS WHICH EFFECTIVELY PROHIBIT THE LAUNCH OF MORE THAN ONE MISSILE IN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME FROM A SINGLE ICBM LAUNCHER, THEREBY INSURING THAT THE BASIC INTENT OF THE AGGREGATE LIMITATIONS IS CARRIED OUT.

UNQUOTE.

JOHNSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SALT (ARMS CONTROL), SALT II, NEGOTIATIONS, MEETING PROCEEDINGS, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975SALTT00238
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750252-1267
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750733/aaaabdy.tel
Line Count: 143
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 JUL 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: WITHDRAWN <16 JUN 2003 by CunninFX, REFER TO DOD/OSD>; RELEASED <11 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <14 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF JULY 22, 1975 (SALT TWO - 682)
TAGS: PARM, (JOHNSON)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006